each house was thus in the neighborhood of 375 dinars (almost a thousand American dollars). With such capital as this involved, building is a serious business and litigations between owner and mason appear frequently before the judge. Poorer townspeople with a flair for the work sometimes build their own simple homes, but anything larger requires the specialist. In such smaller constructions Rowanduz seems to have little "communalism," for, while the neighbors may lend a hand, there is no tradition which requires the aid of others.

Some of the important details of house construction will be found in the succeeding section. There is one person in the town who devotes himself to the manufacture of mud-bricks and the supply of large pieces of uncut stone, these last used for threshholds, courtyards, steps, and the like. The moistened soil for bricks is mixed with chaff and moulded with a wooden form. The shaped bricks are laid out in rows in the sun to dry, and, when hardened, are ready for construction. No fire-burnt bricks are manufactured in the town. There is no special place for brick-making, and in 1951 an empty lot near the house of Isma'il Beg was used for this purpose. Similarly, there is no particular stone-quarry for the district, and any convenient outcrop may be used. The people of the district are not skilled in stoneworking, and most pieces, usually of limestone, are only crudely roughed into flat, irregular slabs. Mud-brick, because it is more easily

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

CHAPTER II

MATERIAL SURROUNDINGS

Three forms of dwellings are found in Kurdistan, the one transportable, the two others stationary. 342

The transportable form is the black tent, *reshmâl*, the easily moved dwelling of the Kurdish nomad, dealt with in detail by Fellberg[1] and not included in my investigations, which truly describe settled forms of residence as well as of life.

The two variants of the stationary form are the *kal* hut, *kâpân*[2], only erected for a single summer's residence, and the permanent house, *xânê* or *mâl*. Leaf huts are put up around the villages of Topzawa and Rakawa at the beginning of June when the summer, *Aheiv*, really begins. They are erected on [341] (the sheikh's harvested wheat fields and on shelves in the hills a little above the village which, as mentioned earlier, project from the hillside in terraces. The framework of the leaf hut consists of 4, 6 or 8 poplar trunks a good 2 metres in height, which at the top terminate in a fork. The number depends upon the projected size of the building. The hut has a rectangular ground plan and only one room. The forked trunks are placed in the ground, and supported by stones sunk around them. Resting on the forks, two straight poplar trunks as heavy as the vertical ones are placed horizontally. Above this are laid thinner transverse sticks that carry a layer of twigs on top of which is laid a very thin layer of branches to which the leaves are attached. To form the walls thin saplings reaching from the ground to the roof are stuck into the soil; in between these leafy twigs are threaded, an opening being left for the door. This door opening can face north, south or east, but it does not seem that there is any fixed tradition in this respect. Instead of plaited twigs ready-made mats can be used for the walls[3], but these are not very solid, particularly in the event of dust storms. (On June 7th several finished or half-finished leaf huts were blown down in these two villages). The huts do not have fencing or anything of that sort. They are put up by the men and serve as summer dwellings for the village families [462] whose permanent houses, on account of position or size, cannot provide the coolness afforded in the hot season by a larger house.

It is said that in the trading centre of Tawella, higher up in the mountains near the frontier of Iran, 366 whole families move out to the fruit plantations, "the gardens", because of the work there, but I had 361 no opportunity to investigate the form of dwelling they build there. Hay mentions that "in Shaqlawa 345 booths are erected in the fruit gardens"[4], but does not further describe them.

The permanent house is built of various materials, but is everywhere cubical in shape, with a flat 342 clay roof borne by poplar trunks (as opposed to the pitched roof of the Turks). In the mountains 324 near the Iranian frontier where there is no lack of natural stone, *kârê*, the walls of the houses are built

[text continues on P. 23--analysis]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA1: Kurd MA11

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Fig. 16. Stone wall with inserted horizontal beams. Tawella.

of this, with a kind of timber frame consisting of short, sleeper-like, wooden beams placed horizontally in the stone walls though not joined together. The stones in the wall have either no binding agent or clay is used as mortar. In the newest houses cement has been adopted. The interior walls in some of the rooms are covered by a clay or gypsum layer applied by the women, which is afterwards polished with flat stones[4]. It appears like a thick white oil paint. In villages and in the older houses in Sulaimani, on the other hand, the walls are made of mud bricks, *adi*. The newer houses in Sulaimani are built of burnt brick. In the villages the bricks are first formed from the clay available on the building site, mixed with water and thoroughly kneaded by the feet of men. Water for the kneading process is obtained by directing an irrigation channel to the building site, or fetched in goatskins which are hung in pairs on the back of a donkey. Pebbles for the foundation, and for the rear wall if the house is built out of the side of a hill, are also transported by donkeys, being carried in basket-shaped frames. The kneaded mass of clay is formed into the individual brick in a rectangular wooden frame, in the same way as we form raw peat. The brick is put out on the hillside to dry for some days without much attention being paid as to whether the surface is really flat. After the foundation of the wall has been

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